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THE SPEECH OF POPE URBAN II.
AT CLERMONT, 1095

BY

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THE SPEECH OF POPE URBAN II. AT CLERMONT, 1095

THE belief that Peter the Hermit was the instigator of the first crusade has long been abandoned. To Pope Urban II. belongs the credit, or the responsibility, for the movement. On November 27, 1095,¹ at the Council of Clermont, he delivered the address which led so many thousands to take the cross.² There are several versions of this speech, but it cannot be proved that any one of them was written until a number of years after the Council. As these differ decidedly in their expressions, it has been assumed³ that it is impossible to determine what the pope actually said. It is the purpose of this paper to show by an examination of the various versions that, in spite of the verbal differences, there is a remarkable agreement among the contemporary reporters,⁴ and consequently that it is possible to ascertain the subjects which the pope discussed.

¹ See Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, No. 9, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VI. 222.

² Ekkehard, *MGSS.*, VI. 213, says that one hundred thousand took the cross at Clermont. For the results of his speech, cf. Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, I. 52.

³ Sybel, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (2d ed.), 185: "Dem rechten Historiker, wenn er nicht auf die Darstellung der umgebenden Thatsachen und auf eine bereite Phantasie seines Lesers vertrauen will, bleibt hier nichts übrig, als eine selbständige Schöpfung, eine erdichtete Wahrheit zu versuchen."

⁴ Almost all modern historians of the crusades have given a summary of Urban's speech. Generally they have been content to take one version (those given by William of Tyre, Robert, and Fulcher have been most frequently selected) and follow it. Others have combined arbitrarily statements from different versions. The best and latest summary is by Röhrich, in his *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, 20: "Die Rede Urbans ist uns vielfach überliefert, aber nicht genau. Ohne Frage bildete den Inhalt ein Klageruf über die von den Ungläubigen gegen die Christen im heiligen Lande verübten Gewaltthaten, ein Kriegeruf an die gesamte Christenheit des Abendlandes, die Feinde aus dem Lande der Verheißung hinauszutreiben und es wieder den Christen zurückzugeben, ein Trostruf, dass Christus den Seinen helfen und Sieg verleihen werde." The best discussion is also by Röhrich, *ibid.* 235-239.

The important versions are given by Fulcher of Chartres,¹ Robert the Monk,² Baldric of Dol,³ Guibert of Nogent,⁴ and William of Malmesbury.⁵ Those of William of Tyre, Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, and others are, as will be noted later, of little importance.

Fulcher of Chartres, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, gives a very brief account of Urban's exhortation.⁶ But he prefaces it by a summary of the pope's speech relative to the evil conditions in the West.⁷ This was an address to the clergy who were at the Council. At its close the Truce of God was proclaimed and all who were present promised to observe it. Then Urban began his exhortation. This is the portion of Fulcher's account which must be compared with the versions given by the others. It is accepted as the most trustworthy of all by Hagenmeyer⁸ and Röhrich.⁹ They state that Fulcher was present at the Council.¹⁰ Hagenmeyer thinks that his account was written down within a short time, surely not later than about 1100.¹¹ The date usually given for the completion of the first part of his history is 1105.¹²

Robert the Monk, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, gives a somewhat longer account. He states in his preface that he was commissioned to write the history because he was at Clermont.¹³ It is not possible to determine the time when he wrote; certainly it was not before 1101-1102¹⁴; probably it was a few years later.¹⁵ He does not have the first speech of Urban to the clergy, but he does give a summary of the pope's second speech to the clergy,¹⁶ after

¹ *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, III. 322-324. (Hereafter this series will be cited as *Recueil*.)

² *Recueil*, III. 727-730.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 12-15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 137-140.

⁵ *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, edited by Stubbs, Rolls Series, II. 393-398.

⁶ Ch. 3.

⁷ Ch. 2.

⁸ Ekkehard's *Iherosolymita*, p. 90. (Hereafter quoted as HE.)

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁰ In 1877, Hagenmeyer wrote (HE, p. 90), "Ohne Zweifel war er selbst auch auf dem Concil anwesend." In 1879, in *Peter der Eremit*, p. 72, he referred to him as an "Ohrenzeuge", and he has used the same term in his later writings. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, also called him an "Ohrenzeuge". (Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, No. 2123, says he was present.) They give no reference and I have not been able to find in his writings any proof that he was present. Whether present or not, he was well informed, as will be apparent later.

¹¹ HE, p. 90.

¹² Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2123.

¹³ "Praecipit igitur mihi ut qui Clari Montis Concilio interfui," *Recueil*, III. 721.

¹⁴ Riant, *Alexii Comneni Epistola ad Robertum Flandrensem*, p. xli.

¹⁵ Cf. Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2118.

¹⁶ The pope made three speeches. First he addressed the clergy, urging a reform. (Fulcher, bk. 1, ch. 2. Baldric, "quae ad fidem pertinebant praemissis," *Recueil*, IV. 12F. Cf. William of Malmesbury's opening sentences, § 347.) This speech was probably made on the same day as, and just before, the exhortation

the completion of the exhortation.¹ This portion of his account should be omitted in comparing it with the other versions. His version has frequently been preferred by later historians.

Baldric of Bourgueil, archbishop of Dol, probably wrote his *Historia Ierosolimitana* soon after 1107.² He states in two different passages that he was at the Council. He does not give the first speech of Urban to the clergy, but has a brief summary of the second. His account was regarded by Ranke as the best.⁴

Guibert, abbot of Nogent, wrote the first portion of his *Gesta Dei per Francos* not later than 1108.⁵ Sybel,⁶ Hagenmeyer,⁷ and Röhrich⁸ state that he was present at Clermont.⁹ Guibert knew Fulcher's *Historia* and used it for the later portions of his work, but he did not copy Fulcher's version of the speech. His report differs decidedly from those given by the others. He makes no mention of either address to the clergy.

William of Malmesbury, although a contemporary, did not write his version until thirty or more years after the Council.¹⁰ It has been regarded as of little value. Hagenmeyer and Röhrich¹¹ state that it is based upon Fulcher's account. This is true for portions but not for the whole of William's version. He has some points that he could not have drawn from Fulcher. He says that his

to take the cross. The third speech was to the clergy (*cf.* Baldric and Robert), probably on the following day, the last day of the Council (*Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, ed. Privat, III. 480). It consisted of practical directions to insure the success of the undertaking.

¹ *Recueil*, III. 729 to end of chapter. The two speeches, however, are represented by Robert as continuous.

² Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2120.

³ "Inter omnes autem in eodem concilio, nobis videntibus," in *Recueil*, IV. 15G. "Solutum est concilium, et nos unus quisque properantes redimus ad propria," *ibid.*, 16D.

⁴ *Weltgeschichte*, VIII. 82.

⁵ See Thurot, in *Revue Historique*, pp. 104-111, and in *Recueil*, IV. xv-xx.

⁶ *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (2d ed.), p. 33.

⁷ HE, p. 89; *Peter der Eremita*, p. 72.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁹ They cite no reference, and I have not been able to find any proof of his presence. Some passages in his work would indicate that he was not present: (1) He gives the date for the Council as 1097 and the thirty-seventh year of Philip's reign; of course, this error may have been due to a copyist. Bongars corrected it in his edition of Guibert. (2) He apologized for his ignorance of the name of the bishop of Puy, who was appointed papal legate at Clermont. "De nomine autem Podiensis episcopi diu haesi, . . . non enim in meo habebatur exemplari." Preface, *Recueil*, IV. 121. "Podiensis urbis episcopo (cujus nomen doleo, quia neque usquam repperi nec audivi)." Bk. II., ch. 5, *ibid.*, 140.

¹⁰ Stubbs's preface to Vol. I., R. S., p. xliii.

¹¹ HE, p. 89; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 239. The latter, however, quotes William's own statement as to his sources.

informants were persons who had heard the speech.¹ There seems to be no more reason for doubting this than any other uncorroborated statement, and his version ought certainly to be considered. The other reports of the speech are obviously copied² or fictitious. To the latter class belongs the speech in William of Tyre,³ which has so often been regarded as the most correct version. It has no independent value.⁴

The reconstruction of the exhortation must be based upon the versions of Robert and Baldric, who say that they were at Clermont; of Fulcher and Guibert, who may have been present; and of William of Malmesbury, who says that his information was derived from persons who were present. All, except Fulcher, state that they do not reproduce the exact words of the pope.⁵ All that can be attempted, therefore, is a reconstruction of the outline of the exhortation.

This reconstruction is somewhat difficult inasmuch as the three separate speeches⁶ of the pope have been confused to some extent in the different versions. The task of reconstruction seems to be further complicated by the existence of points of resemblance between some versions of the speech and passages in the famous letter of the Emperor Alexius to Count Robert of Flanders.⁷ The genuineness and date of the letter have long been subjects of controversy.⁸ To quote only a few of the more important opinions: Riant thought the letter was based in part upon sermons of Urban II. and was the work of a forger in 1098-1099.⁹ Chalandon believes the letter was forged in 1098-1099, but was based in part upon a genuine letter of 1088-1089.¹⁰ Hagenmeyer dates it 1088;

¹ R. S., II. 393, "quem, sicut ab auditoribus accepi, placuit posteris transmittere integro verborum sensu custodito."

² E. g., Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, *Breviarium passagii in Terram Sanctam*.

³ Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 239, "eine freie Erfindung, allerdings ein Meisterstück seiner Art".

⁴ Among the subjects which he inserts in the speech is the letter which Peter the Hermit had brought from the East.

⁵ Robert, "Haec et id genus plurima peroravit." *Recueil*, III. 729C. Baldric, "His vel hujus modi aliis a domino," *ibid.*, IV. 15G. Guibert, "His ergo, etsi non verbis, tamen intentionibus usus est," *ibid.*, 137E. Cf. William of Malmesbury, as cited in note 1, above.

⁶ See note 16, p. 232.

⁷ Best editions in Riant, *Alexii Comneni Epistola ad Robertum Flandrensem*; and in Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 130-136.

⁸ See *ibid.*, 10-42; Riant, *op. cit.*, preface; and "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques", in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I. 71-89; Chalandon, *Règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène*, pp. 325-336.

⁹ Inventaire, A. O. L., I. 74.

¹⁰ *Alexis*, p. 335.

G. Paris, about 1090; Vasiljevski, about 1091.¹ Chalandon says: "On ne peut savoir si ce sont les sermons d'Urbain qui ont servi de source à l'épistola ou si, au contraire, ce ne sont pas les rédacteurs de ces prétendus sermons qui ont utilisé cette dernière."² There is too great a resemblance between portions of the letter and passages in some of the versions for both to be original; *e. g.*, the account of the cruelties and the pollution of the holy places in Robert and in the letter.

It is to be noted, however, that if the letter was a source, no one in his version used it for more than a few points,³ and in each case other accounts of the speech mention these same points in a manner that shows no influence of the letter. Consequently it seems almost certain that these subjects were mentioned by the pope, and hence the letter need not be considered in the analysis. It is not necessary, either, to discuss the question whether Urban was influenced by the letter or whether, on the other hand, the letter was based upon Urban's speech.⁴ It seems probable that the letter, whichever date is taken for its composition, was in existence before any of the versions which have parallel passages; and that the writers of these used it. Believing that Urban discussed a subject, it would be the most natural thing for Robert or Baldric or William to borrow from any source at hand either a pertinent account or a phrase which struck his fancy. This was such a common practice in the middle ages that it would have been remarkable if they had not done it. The letter, therefore, probably influenced the mode of expression in some versions, but not the general outline.

In order to ascertain what Pope Urban actually said it is now necessary to analyze each version of the speech, and to ascertain the separate facts given in each. It is to be expected *a priori* that the ideas will be expressed in different words and that each writer will dwell upon the portions of greatest interest to him, passing lightly over other portions. After such an analysis, it will be possible to select the facts which seem to be well vouched for and thus to determine the main outline of the pope's remarks. Accordingly the separate facts will now be taken up; those given in Fulcher's version will be used first; and in each case it will be noted

¹ Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 10-24.

² P. 330.

³ In addition to the example above, only a single point in Baldric, possibly one in Guibert, several in William. But each one, if he did use the letter, took a different part.

⁴ It would be an easy but unprofitable task to build up an ingenious argument for either point of view.

when the same fact is cited by any of the others. Then the other speeches will be analyzed in the same manner, and in the following order: Robert, Baldric, Guibert, William of Malmesbury.

Necessity of aiding the brethren in the East. Found in all.¹

Appeals for aid from the East. Found in Fulcher,² Robert,³ and possibly in Baldric.⁴ Guibert does not mention these appeals in his account of the speech, but refers, in the preceding chapter, to the gifts and prayers of the emperor by which Urban was moved.⁵ This point is not referred to by William of Malmesbury.

Victorious advance of the Turks. Mentioned by Fulcher⁶ and Robert.⁷ Baldric⁸ and Guibert have no such explicit mention, but all the earlier portion in each of their speeches presupposes the knowledge of such a conquest. On the other hand, William of Malmesbury has a long list of the provinces which the Turks had conquered.⁹

Sufferings of the Christians in the East. Mentioned very

¹ Fulcher, ch. 3: "Quoniam, o filii Dei, si pacem apud vos tenendam et Ecclesiae jura conservanda fideliter sustentare virilius solito polliciti Deo estis, exstat operae pretium ut insuper ad quoddam aliud Dei negotium et vestrum, emendatione deifica nuper vegetati, probitatis vestrae valitudinem versetis. Necesse est enim, quatinus confratribus vestris in Orientali plaga conversantibus, auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato indigis, accelerato itinere succurratis." *Recueil*, III. 323. "O quanta impropria vobis ab ipso Domino imputabuntur, si eos non juveritis qui professione Christiana censentur, sicut et vos!" *Ibid.*, 324. It is not necessary to quote special passages from the other speeches, as in each case this is the main purport.

² "Auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato." *Ibid.*, 323F.

³ "Ab Iherosolymorum finibus et urbe Constantinopolitana relatio gravis emersit et saepissime jam ad aures nostras pervenit." *Ibid.*, 727C-D.

⁴ "Audivimus, fratres dilectissimi, et audistis, . . . quantis calamitatibus, quantis incommoditatibus, quam diris contritionibus, in Jerusalem et in Antiochia et in ceteris Orientalis plagae civitatibus, Christiani . . . flagellantur, opprimuntur, injuriuntur. Germani fratres vestri, . . . aut inter nos mendicant." *Ibid.*, IV. 12-13.

⁵ "Ab Alexi Graecorum principe magnis honoraretur exequiis et precibus . . . pulsaretur." *Ibid.*, 135 C-D. Note also his mention of Constantinople near the beginning of the speech.

⁶ "Invaserunt enim eos, sicuti plerisque vestrum jam dictum est, usque mare Mediterraneum, ad illud scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii, Turci, gens Persica, qui, apud Romaniae fines, terras Christianorum magis magisque occupando, lite bellica jam septuplicata victos superaverunt," pp. 323-324.

⁷ "Gens regni Persarum . . . terras illorum Christianorum invaserit," p. 727D. "Regnum Graecorum jam ab eis ita emulatum est et suis usibus emancipatum quod transmeari non potest itinere duorum mensium," p. 728A.

⁸ "Nequam homines sanctas praeoccupare civitates: Turci spurii et immundi nostris fratribus dominantur," p. 13B. Also the possession of Antioch and Jerusalem by the Turks is mentioned.

⁹ "Syriam, Armeniam, omnem postremo Asiam Minorem, cujus provinciae sunt Bithinia, Frigia, Galatia, Lidia, Caria, Pamphilia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia, occupaverunt," p. 394. This may have been derived from the letter of Alexius.

briefly by Fulcher,¹ dwelt upon at great length by Robert,² to a lesser degree by Baldric³ and William.⁴ Guibert does not mention this subject, but does dwell upon the sufferings of the pilgrims.⁵

Desecration or destruction of the churches and holy places. Mentioned by Fulcher,⁶ by Robert,⁷ at great length by Baldric,⁸ and slightly by William.⁹ Guibert also mentions this, but treats it under the special sanctity of Jerusalem.¹⁰

This is God's work. Mentioned explicitly by Flucher¹¹; it is, in fact, the underlying thought in all the versions. Robert expresses this idea in his preface, "Hoc enim non fuit humanum opus, sed divinum." In his account of Urban's second speech to the clergy, the pope refers their unanimity to God's direct agency.¹² Other heads of the speech, to be noted later, bring out this idea forcibly.¹³

Rich and poor alike ought to go. Mentioned by Fulcher,¹⁴ but not explicitly by the others. It seems probable that Urban aroused even greater enthusiasm than he desired. In his second address to the clergy¹⁵ he stated that he did not desire old men, or those unfitted for war, or women without guardians. Clerks were not to go without the permission of their bishop, nor laymen without the blessing of their priest. These same limitations are brought out later in the letter of Urban to the inhabitants of Bologna.¹⁶ But the pope's eloquence had been too persuasive, the project was too

¹ "Multas occidendo vel captivando," p. 324A.

² P. 727D to p. 728B. This may, however, be borrowed from the letter of Alexius.

³ P. 12A-B. Note especially, "Siqui adhuc ibi latitant Christiani inauditis exquiruntur tormentis." Cf. note 4, p. 236.

⁴ P. 395, l. 12 to l. 15.

⁵ See note 13, p. 240.

⁶ "Ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando," p. 324A.

⁷ "Ecclesiasque Dei aut funditus everterit aut suorum ritui sacrorum mancipaverit," p. 727E.

⁸ P. 13. Note especially, "Ecclesiae in quibus olim divina celebrata sunt mysteria, pro dolor! ecce animalibus eorum stabula praeparantur."

⁹ P. 395, ll. 10-11. But compare all the context for proof that this was in William's mind.

¹⁰ See note 10, p. 240.

¹¹ "Qua de re supplicii prece hortor, non ego, sed Dominus . . . vos, Christi praecones, . . . Praesentibus dico, absentibus mando, Christus autem imperat," p. 324A-B.

¹² "Nisi Dominus Deus mentibus vestris affuisset, una omnium vestrum vox non fuisset," p. 729D.

¹³ William, p. 396, ll. 15-16, "Praesentibus ex Dei nomine praecipio, absentibus mando," is evidently influenced by Fulcher. See note 11, above.

¹⁴ "Ut cunctis cujuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus . . . suadeatis," p. 324A-B.

¹⁵ Robert, ch. 2, p. 729E.

¹⁶ Riant, *Inventaire, A. O. L.*, I. 121; cf. p. 115, note 8.

attractive. Men and women of all classes, even children, started on the crusade. Occasionally some were restrained by the wisdom of their clerical advisers.¹

*All who went on the crusade were to receive plenary indulgence or full remission of sins.*² This is clear from the canon of the Council,³ from the statement of Pope Eugene III.,⁴ and from the letters of Urban to the princes of Flanders⁵ and to the people of Bologna.⁶ It was reported in various forms by the contemporaries. Flucher limits it to those who died on the expedition⁷; Robert applies it to all who went.⁸ Baldric inserts a rather indefinite statement concerning it in Urban's address to the clergy.⁹ Guibert does not mention it in his account of the speech. William applies it to all.¹⁰ It is interesting to compare with these brief statements the very careful exposition of William of Tyre.¹¹

Expressions of contempt for the Turks. The terms used by Fulcher,¹² Robert,¹³ and Baldric¹⁴ are commonplace enough. Guibert mildly calls them *nefandi*. William of Malmesbury,¹⁵ on the other hand, has a long passage describing the cowardice and degeneracy of the Turks. His account accords with the general belief of the times.¹⁶ If Urban used contemptuous expressions it would probably have been so much in agreement with their own ideas that his hearers would have paid little heed to this portion of his address. The crusaders were surprised at the bravery of the Turks when they met the latter in battle.¹⁷

¹ See *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (ed. Privat), III. 484.

² These terms are used in their technical sense.

³ "Quicumque, pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunie adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur." Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXII. 717.

⁴ "Illam peccatorum remissionem, quam prefatus predecessor noster papa Urbanus instituit." Ottonis Fris. *Gesta Fr.*, MGSS., XX. 371.

⁵ Riant, *Inventaire*, No. XLIX, *A. O. L.*, I., p. 113 and p. 220. This letter also confirms several of the other points.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. LVII.

⁷ "Cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit," p. 324B.

⁸ "Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum," p. 729B. 9 P. 15F.

¹⁰ "Ituri . . . omnium absolutionem criminum," p. 396.

¹¹ *Recueil*, I. 42, ll. 11-16.

¹² "Gens tam sprete, degener, et daemonum ancilla," p. 324C.

¹³ "Gens prorsus a Deo aliena," p. 727D; "nefariae genti," p. 728F.

¹⁴ "Turci spurii et immundi," p. 13B.

¹⁵ P. 395, l. 31, to p. 396, l. 5.

¹⁶ Cf. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 73, and the contemptuous expressions in the *Gesta Francorum*, *passim*.

¹⁷ Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, IX. 206-208.

Fight righteous wars instead of the iniquitous combats in which you have been engaged. Mentioned at some length by all.¹ *Promise of eternal rewards.* Mentioned by all.² *Promise of temporal rewards.* Indefinite in Fulcher,³ but not in Robert⁴ or in Baldric.⁵ Guibert⁶ and William of Malmesbury⁷ have no parallel passages, but the same idea of the acquisition of the enemy's country is assumed. *The participants are not to let anything hinder them.* Fulcher barely mentions this.⁸ Robert gives a much fuller statement,⁹ that they are not to be hindered by ties of affection or care for property. Baldric has a passage of the same import.¹⁰ Guibert has no mention of this, but William dwells upon it.¹¹ *Time of departure.* Mentioned only by Fulcher.¹² It seems probable that this was not mentioned in the exhortation but was fixed later. The time actually set for the departure was August 15, 1096.¹³ *God will be your leader.* Mentioned by Fulcher, "Domino praevio",¹⁴ as the last point in the pope's exhortation. Robert does not have this, but he may have had it in mind when he gave as the concluding sentence of the pope's second address to the clergy, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me." Baldric expressed it, "sub Jesu Christo, duce nostro, acies

¹ Fulcher, "contra infideles ad pugnam . . . dignam . . . qui abusive . . . contra fideles . . . consuescebant distendere," p. 324D. Robert, p. 728F. Baldric, p. 15A-B. Guibert, "Indebita hactenus bella gessistis . . . Nunc vobis bella proponimus quae in se habent gloriosum martyrii munus," etc., p. 138E. William, especially p. 396, ll. 25, 26, "illam fortunam, prudentiam illam, quam in civili conflictu habere consuestis, iustiori effundentes, proelio."

² Fulcher, "aeterna praemia nanciscantur," p. 324D; Robert, "immarcescibili gloria sequi coelorum," 729B; Baldric, "sanguine vestis purpurati, perenne bravium adipiscimini," p. 15C; Guibert, "gloriosum martyrii munus . . . aeternae laudis titulus," p. 138E. William, "perpetuae salutis statio," p. 394, l. 11; cf. p. 396, l. 22.

³ "Pro honore duplici laborent, qui ad detrimentum corporis et animae se fatigabant," p. 324D-E.

⁴ "Eamque vobis subijcite, terra illa . . . quae lacte et melle fluit," etc., p. 728F. This is contrasted with their poverty at home.

⁵ "Facultates etiam inimicorum vestrae erunt: quoniam et illorum thesauros expoliabitis," p. 15C.

⁶ But see p. 240, note 17, and corresponding text.

⁷ When William urges them not to be detained by their patrimony because more ample ones are promised, the context seems to show that eternal rewards are referred to.

⁸ "Ituris autem mora non differat iter, sed propriis locatis, sumptibusque collectis . . . transitem acriter intrent," p. 324E.

⁹ P. 728E.

¹⁰ "Non vos demulceant illecebrosa blandimenta mulierum nec rerum vestrarum," p. 15E.

¹¹ P. 378, ll. 4-10.

¹² "Cessante bruma vernoque sequente," p. 324E.

¹³ Riant, *Inventaire, A. O. L.*, I. 114, 220.

¹⁴ P. 324E.

christiana", etc.¹ Guibert has "Deo vos praeunte, Deo pro vobis proeliante"²; and at the end of the exhortation "Christum fore signiferum . . . et praecursorem individuum." William's phrase is, "aderit Deus euntibus."³

Praise of the Franks. Robert begins his version with a reference to the Franks as the chosen people beloved by God. His statement does not carry very great weight because this is a favorite thought of his.⁴ While a natural beginning under ordinary circumstances, it may not have seemed appropriate after the references to the evil conduct of the people in the previous address. This may have caused Fulcher⁵ and Baldric to omit it even if it was a part of the pope's speech. Guibert has no mention of it in the speech, but uses similar language in a preceding chapter.⁶ William refers to the "famosa Francorum virtus."⁷

Special sanctity of Jerusalem. Mentioned by Robert,⁸ Baldric,⁹ and Guibert¹⁰ at great length. The Holy Sepulchre, in particular, and its profanation are cited. *Evil conditions at home.* Mentioned by all but Fulcher.¹¹ The latter may have omitted it because he had already given the pope's first speech, in which the evil conditions were discussed at length.¹² *Sufferings of the pilgrims.* Mentioned by Baldric¹³ and at great length by Guibert.¹⁴ *The task will be easy.* Mentioned slightly by Baldric,¹⁵ and by William.¹⁶ *Necessity of contending against Antichrist.* This is mentioned only by Guibert.¹⁷ His argument is interesting. It may be summarized baldly: The coming of Antichrist is at hand. According to the prophets he will have his dwelling on the Mount of Olives and will destroy the three Christian kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia. But these countries are now pagan and there are

¹ P. 15A.

² P. 138C, 140D.

³ P. 398, l. 17.

⁴ In addition to four places in the exhortation where he mentions this. Cf. prologue and *Historia*, *passim*.

⁵ But note p. 324C, "gentem omnipotentes Dei fide praeditam, et Christi nomine fulgidam."

⁶ Bk. II., ch. 1.

⁷ P. 396, ll. 28-29.

⁸ Ch. 2 at the beginning, and p. 728C.

⁹ P. 13.

¹⁰ *Passim*. A large portion of his version is devoted to this theme.

¹¹ Robert, "quoniam terra haec quam inhabitatis . . . numerositate vestra coangustatos . . . et vi sola alimenta suis cultoribus administrat," etc., p. 728E. Baldric, p. 14F; Guibert, p. 138E; William, pp. 393, 394; this passage may be, in part at least, a reminiscence of the pope's first speech.

¹² Cf., however, p. 324D.

¹³ "Quantis afflictionibus vos, qui adestis, qui redestis, injuriaverint," etc., p. 14A.

¹⁴ P. 139H to 140C.

¹⁵ "Via brevis est, labor permodicus est," p. 15D.

¹⁶ P. 394, l. 10. Cf. pp. 395, 396 on the ease of defeating the cowardly Turks.

¹⁷ P. 138H to p. 139C.

no Christian kings. Therefore, it is necessary, for the fulfilment of the prophecy, for the Christians to conquer these countries so that there may be Christian kings to be destroyed. Possibly this was Guibert's way of stating the temporal rewards mentioned by the others.

*Reference to Spain.*¹ Mentioned by William, but by no one else. Guibert, however, does give in the preceding chapter, as one of the causes of the pope's preaching the crusade, that he had very often heard of the Saracens' attack upon Spain.² *Cross to be worn.* Mentioned by William.³ Robert mentions this in the second address to the clergy.⁴ The others mention it later but not as a part of the pope's speech.

In addition to the subjects already mentioned there is a subtle appeal to the ascetic spirit of the times, in the versions by Baldric, Guibert, and William; and an exhortation to follow the example of the Old Testament heroes, in the versions by Baldric and Guibert. It is probable that both subjects were referred to by Urban, but the vague and divergent references may be merely the work of the reporters. The references are of too slight weight to be used here.

Urban may have mentioned all these subjects, as well as some which have not been reported. Undoubtedly, his exhortation was much longer than any of the brief reports which have been preserved. But, judging from the material in existence, the following conclusions seem justified.

In addition to the points about which there can be no reasonable doubt, rich and poor may have been urged to go. If this was not expressly mentioned, it seems to have been taken for granted by the auditors. The evil conditions at home were probably dwelt upon. The only doubt in this case arises from a possible confusion of the first and second speeches in the various reports. Some mention of this subject would, however, naturally accompany the exhortation to fight just wars in place of unjust. The sufferings of the pilgrims were probably mentioned. There may have been some reference to Spain, as this might have been suggested by the conquests of the Turks. The valor of the Franks may have been praised by the pope. It is a matter of doubt whether Urban used any but commonplace expressions of contempt in describing the

¹ "Jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis," p. 395.

² Bk. II., ch. 1. It was chiefly on these statements by William and Guibert that Riant based his argument that the pope was influenced principally by the danger to Spain. Riant, *Alexii Epistola*, p. xxiv.

³ P. 396, l. 17.

⁴ P. 730A.

Turks or in regard to the easiness of the task. He probably did not refer to the time of departure, to the need of contending against Antichrist,¹ or to the wearing of the cross.

The outline of the pope's speech, therefore, seems to have been as follows²: [Praise of the valor of the Franks]; necessity of aiding the brethren in the East; appeals for aid from the East; victorious advance of the Turks; [reference to Spain]; sufferings of the Christians in the East; (sufferings of the pilgrims); desecration of the churches and holy places; [expressions of contempt concerning the Turks]; special sanctity of Jerusalem; this is God's work; (rich and poor to go); grant of plenary indulgence; fight righteous wars instead of iniquitous combats; (evil conditions at home); promise of eternal and temporal rewards; let nothing hinder you; God will be your leader.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

¹ Antichrist is mentioned in the letter of Alexius. *A priori* it seems probable that the pope would have mentioned Antichrist. On the other hand, if such a mention had been made, it seems probable that more than one of the five versions would have preserved it.

² The subjects concerning which there seems to be no doubt are printed without inclosures; those which the pope probably used are in parentheses; those which he may have used are in brackets; the other subjects are, of course, omitted. The order is determined by a comparison of the different versions. It is only hypothetical, and the purpose of this paper would not be affected by a change in order.



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